[8 cont.]

114 Scheutvelder missionaries had again given up their Kansu region,
[177] which they left to the Steyler missionaries. After their departure the investigation of the Tujen again came to a halt. The language was already fairly well understood, but records of the rich folk literature and a comparison with the other Tujen dialects in Kansu were lacking. A good foundation had likewise been laid for the sociology. The other spheres, however, had not yet been considered, above all the religion and material culture (economy, clothing).

121 When the author came to this region in 1946, he intended
[177] to begin with precisely these points. The Tujen were already Sinicized to a considerable extent, but in their language, religion, and dress they were able to maintain much of their individuality until the most recent times. Therefore, in particular the legends and songs were taken down, the religious customs studied, and the dress of the Tujen women described. What seemed most interesting to the author was the religion, which is to be dealt with in the following work. The presentation is not definitive, as will become clear repeatedly below, but it does provide the fundamentals and essentials.

115 Since there are almost no written reports on this subject,
123 the author had to utilize the living sources that were available to him during his three-year stay (until 1949), in addition to his own observations. The principal one was an outstanding Tujen man, a living book concerning his people's traditions, and a Tujen singer with an enormous treasure of legends, fairy tales, and songs.

• 128 The work falls into two parts. The first is a critical presentation of the facts gained from the sources, and by way of introduction the chief source itself (the informant) is to be characterized. The second part presents the theoretical results derived from these facts, namely, the attempt to draw a total picture of the religion and to show the layers out of which it is formed. Hence it is not simply an offhand field report, but is also a systematic survey of the religious situation and its explanation. It is to be regretted that this work had to be
114 broken off at the site because of the suddenly erupting unrest;

[14 cont.]
124 the course of the day or even after several days, so far as my
126 professional work permitted. [15] I added these details to the first report under the corresponding key words. At the beginning I also left the Tujen words in the text, but later I placed them under the heading "Expressions" at the end of each chapter. Naturally, the old man soon realized that I was primarily concerned with the facts and not with the words. He surprised me one day with the following remark, which provided the basis for the arrangement of the whole: "So, now I will first tell you what we do for the good fortune of the family, for the good fortune of the individual persons, for the good fortune of the herds and fields."

124 I added my own observations to the reports that I had taken
128 down, questioned others, occasionally compared the customs of the neighboring groups, at times found an observation in the literature, and added these supplementary items to each section as special notes provided with numbers.

Accordingly, each chapter has two parts. The first part
114 first of all presents a brief report, then under certain key words
128 the details are added, and finally the word list. The source for this part is exclusively the informant. The second part, namely, the numbered notes, is by the author himself. They are based almost entirely upon his own observations or other sources, which in each case are indicated. [In the translation, the numbered notes are incorporated as numbered footnotes. The remarks made by the author as footnotes are indicated by an asterisk.]

124 It is not to be inferred, however, that the first, reporting part is literal dictation which relieved the writer of any further trouble. Rather, he had to work out everything from an ethnological point of view with the old man through questions repeatedly returning to the same subject, as is reflected in the key words. At the same time, the simple and clear manner of expression used by the old man was to be preserved as far as possible. Again and again, I read aloud to him the individual chapters in Chinese with the aid of my German stenogram: "Listen! Now I shall read to you what you have said." Whenever I had rendered something incorrectly, he would say immediately: "I did not say that; the matter is such and such."

[15 cont.]

124 Sometimes he would come back after a few days and ask: "May I hear once more what you have taken down? Something else has occurred to me, add this and that." In each case he would know exactly on which sheet the passage was, although he could not read any of it, proof of his attentiveness and his good memory.

●128 192 177 Sometimes it may appear as though the linguistic dress of this first part excessively conveys my European technical terms and not the simple language of the informant. This is not the case, however, for such technical terms are found in both Chinese and the Tujen language. Chinese and Tujen have their own words for trance, meditation, offering, libation, prayer, etc. They distinguish between slaughtering and offering a sacrifice, between monk and layman, etc. These are, after all, the conceptions of a people who has not only been extensively influenced by Lamaism with its abundant religious forms, but also has active intercourse with Chinese culture. It should therefore be emphasized that all the words at the end of a chapter under the heading "Word List" come from the informant, including the indication of a possible Tibetan [16] or [198] Chinese origin (3). It is not surprising that so many Tibetan

3. [Foreign text p. 18.] Mr. Unkrig had the kindness to check the word lists. In the process it turned out that the informant was quite reliable with his information concerning the Tibetan equivalents. Where it seemed necessary (not always), these equivalents have been added to the individual chapters in the univocal form of the written language (Tib. and Mong.), with the entry (Unkrig). I am further indebted to Mr. Unkrig for many another linguistic suggestion and above all for the inspection of the lexicons and Lamaist literature that otherwise was not available.

[16 cont.]
128 loanwords are cited, for Tibetan is the official language of
192 Lamaism, which occupies such a large place in the life of the
177 people. Here it should be mentioned that the old man desig-
[198] nated the expressions from Tibetan or Mongolic as "higher lan-
[186] guage" or "literary language," a value that he did not accord Chinese.

Finally a note with regard to the peculiar nature of this
114 work. It presents a popular religion, and that of a certain group.
[184] This means in the first place that not everything can be gen-
eralized for the Koko Nor region, not even for all the Tujen.
[179] Secondly, one will find no accounts about the dogma, the official rites, or the secret practices of monastic Lamaism and the higher Bon religion. The Tibetan and Mongolic writings give this information. Also, it was unnecessary to cite the basic literature on this subject, at least not to any considerable extent. To be sure, this is not infrequently done, but only when it seemed to be required for an understanding of the popular customs. In such cases it was preferable to start from linguistic considerations. On the other hand, a presentation of the popular religion as practiced is a help for knowledge of the
[177] official religion. The popular belief, with its various customs, casts new light on the multiformity of monastic Lamaism, which has adopted so many pre-Buddhistic traits from the conceptual realm of Central Asia.

6. The Transcription of the Tujen Language

104

The transcription of the Tujen words and the Tibetan-Mongolic loanwords is based on the orthography of the DMF. For practical reasons, however, the large letters were replaced by small ones and the diacritical marks simplified. The following table presents first the orthography used here (S), under it the one used by P. A. Mostaert in the DMF (M), and under that the phonetic values of the Anthropos alphabet (A).

[217 cont.]

771 174 Now, concerning the elements which make up these customs, they fall almost entirely into four groups, each of which constitutes a special layer. These four layers are: the belief in a supreme god, shamanism, the Bon religion, and Lamaism. The layers, however, cannot simply be taken out of the whole structure, freed from all the extra features, and connected with a larger pervading stratum of the Central Asiatic religions. This is only possible in a larger context and would go beyond the bounds of this work, for the parts in question are of considerable temporal depth and embrace many peoples. In addition these layers have interpenetrated one another in that in each case the later one has absorbed the elements of the preceding ones. Thus, Lamaism, in spite of its original enmity toward the Bon religion, has nonetheless adopted much from it. The Bon faith, on the other hand, in turn has a strong shamanistic base, and an old sky-cult runs through all the layers.

771 128 756 A discussion of the two high religions, of the Bon and of Lamaism, in their connection with the belief of the Tujen would go too far. Shamanism can more readily be delimited, but it cannot be exhaustively presented either. So there remains the old sky-cult as a belief in a supreme god. This will be dealt with quite extensively in the following, whereas in the case of shamanism the presentation must be limited to a theoretical sketch. A special work will deal with it in detail for the whole western Chinese border region. The Bon religion and Lamaism will only be touched upon briefly.

II. The Layers of the Tujen Religion

1. The Belief in a Supreme God

114 771 In this section it is necessary to refer not only to the customs but also to the other sources and the scanty literature. Aside from the DMF and Mariage (by Schram), which offer a sparse yield for the religion, the other sources are still unpublished. [538] They are available in the original texts, however. These are the Geser legend, the agriculture legend, the Moschus deer (the first part of the song cycle known under the name xoni, sheep), and a series of other songs and fairy tales, of which the wedding songs are appearing (Folklore Studies, Tokyo, 1952).

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

VIII. PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MONGUORS

Having explained the internal structure and organization of Lamaism and shamanism among the Monguors during the period of 1910–1920, and having characterized the ministers of both religions, Living Buddhas, lamas, shamans, and Kurtains, it remains to study in what ways these religions are practiced, and what is the frame of mind of the Monguors toward these religions. 128

After having explained the world of religion and fear in which the Monguors live, first the public rites performed in their society will be dealt with, and then the private rites enacted by them. A chapter will deal with their death and burial customs. Another chapter will deal with the cult of "Heaven and all the Spirits."

The last chapter will put stress on the often overlooked but important role played by religion in helping to preserve the identity of the Monguors, maintaining their traditions and customs, and strengthening the social structure of the clans in order to prevent their absorption by the Chinese.

It should be borne in mind that among the Monguor clans of Hsining, some are of Turkish and some of Mongol origin, but that from the earliest times in Central Asia tribes mixed with tribes; tribes were torn to pieces and scattered over enormous distances, and absorbed by other tribes. On the other hand, it must be remembered that our Monguors, before they were converted to Lamaism, were religious groups who prayed. Among them sacrifices were offered by the heads of the families and of the tribes, and by the shamans. They had previously met peoples practicing Buddhism, Manichaeism, Nestorianism, and also Chinese Taoists, Confucianists, and Buddhists. Even after becoming professing Lamaists, they still remained shamanist, and preserved notions and practices originating from other religious sources. 771

It is a real paradox that Lamaism, contaminated with magic which is diametrically opposed to any religion, denying theoretically the existence of a soul and of God and spirits, has created among its adepts a new enthusiasm of fervor and religiosity. By means of stressing the principle of reversion of merits, it developed the notion of personal responsibility and of duty, by teaching that all good and bad events in this life depend on the performance in the present or former existences of good or bad deeds. Although, according to the fundamental doctrine of Buddhism, the bad acts are irreparable, means are provided to extenuate their inevitable consequences, and even to transfer acquired merits to others, and hence arose the doctrine of universal charity, the alluring physiognomy of Buddhism. 779

However, the Monguors and Tibetans of Huang-chung, in a way that is even illogical, do not take account of the philosophical aspects of Lamaism. They do not care for the doctrinal discussions concerning the 829

[p.94(B)]

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 292 gown, of finer cloth, is blue, green, red or violet. Two or three sets of extensions, of different lengths and colors and edged in contrasting colors, are sewed to the sleeves of the gown, giving the impression that several gowns are worn. The gown has a red embroidered color; the boots have black feet and red embroidered tops. The woman's trousers, usually dark blue, are tucked into the boot tops like the men's, but for dress occasions she removes the ordinary trouser legs, which are sewed to a hem just below the knee, and replaces them with richly embroidered legs which she wears outside the boots.

N *563 M 294 292 Women make their own boots, sashes and gowns. A Mongour bride spends months preparing these garments for her trousseau. She generally owns only one pair of fancy boots in her lifetime. She wears them only on festival occasions, and at the age of forty she puts them away and wears plain ones.

N *563 M 302 301 [291] Hair styling and headdress are very important to a Mongour woman. Strict tradition rules both. The young girl wears a small bun, bound with red cord and covered with a shell, on the top of her head, and braids the hair in back into two plaits bound together at the neck with red cords and decorated with shells. She never wears a hat.

N *563 M 302 291 [191] There are nine different hair and hat styles, each peculiar to one Mongour group. The married woman wears the style of her husband's group. In general, these styles resemble those of the Mongolian women. Whereas the Chinese women in this part of China never wear hats, the young married woman of the Mongours is never without one. Around home she wears a simple felt hat; on festive occasions she wears the traditional fancy hat of her husband's clan. If her parents are dead when she reaches the age of forty, she puts away her hats, showy boots, extra sleeves and all other finery forever. If her parents are still living, she continues to wear these things for a few more years so the parents will not feel they have yet reached extreme old age.

N *563 M 301 Women and girls love jewelry. They often wear three or four bracelets, and three or four rings on the same finger. Married women have elaborate earrings; young girls wear simple ones.

3. Social values and customs

N *563 M 177 [128] [614] There are in Mongour society many practices reminiscent of a matriarchal family structure. Many Mongours, however, have lost their own language, repudiated their Mongour traditions and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook. The following discussion will concern only those people whose clans are called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsi-ning region, and whose chiefs were made T'u-ssu in the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M 769 614 a. Ancestor worship

Important ancestral rites are performed annually at the be-